

FBIS 131 (SEE 106, )

TEXT OF BREZHNEV SPEECH TO THE UNION ON FOREIGN POLICY

L211340 MOSCOW DOMESTIC SERVICE 1. RUSSIAN 1015 GMT 21 JUL 74 L

(SPEECH BY CPSU GENERAL SECRETARY LEONID BREZHNEV TO THE POLISH SEJM--LIVE. THIS ITEM IS THE SECOND HALF OF THE SPEECH, DEALING WITH FOREIGN POLICY, AND IS FILED OUT OF TURN. FIRST PART WILL BE FILED SUBSEQUENTLY WITH NOTATION OF PICKUP WORDS)

(TEXT) ESTEEMED COMRADES, WE NOW HAVE A COMMON, PRICELESS LEGACY. AFTER WORLD WAR II, NOT ONLY AN ENTIRE GROUP OF SOCIALIST STATES BUT WHAT WE CALL THE SOCIALIST COMMUNIST WAS BORN. THIS WAS A COMPLETELY NEW AND UNPRECEDENTED PHENOMENON. THIS WAS NOT AN ORDINARY UNION OF STATES, BUT A SOCIALIST UNION BASED ON COMMON IDEOLOGY AND GOALS AND ON THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF WORKING PEOPLE. IT WAS A UNION WHOSE LEADING FORCE WAS, FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS TESTED VANGUARD, THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES.

THE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THIS UNION REQUIRED BOTH TIME AND MUCH COLLECTIVE EFFORT. WE HAD TO FIND AN ANSWER TO MANY NEW ESSENTIAL PROBLEMS OF THEORY AND PRACTICE, TO RESPOND OPPORTUNELY AND IN A MEASURED FASHION TO VARIOUS TURNS OF EVENTS. AND LIFE HAD DEMONSTRATED QUITE CONVINCINGLY THAT WITH A CORRECT MARXIST-LENINIST APPROACH WE DECIDED AND COULD DECIDE EVEN THE MOST COMPLEX PROBLEMS IN SUCH A WAY AS TO PROMOTE THE STRENGTHENING OF EACH OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES INDIVIDUALLY AND THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE.

TODAY WE HAVE PRACTICALLY TESTED PRINCIPLES AND FORMS OF MULTILATERAL COOPERATION. WE HAVE GAINED EXPERIENCE AND STRENGTHENED OUR COLLECTED ORGANIZATIONS. THE WARSAW PACT HAS BECOME A RELIABLE, EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM. CEMA IN ALL ITS PRACTICAL EFFORTS PROMOTES THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MOST IMPORTANT ECONOMIC PROCESS--ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. WE SEE VERY WELL WHAT TREMENDOUS BENEFIT OUR COUNTRIES DERIVE FROM PRODUCTION COOPERATION AND SPECIALIZATION AND FROM EXCHANGES IN THE FIELD OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. WE ARE DETERMINED TO MORE ACTIVELY USE THE POSSIBILITIES AND RESERVES OF OUR COOPERATION AND DEVELOP AND DEEPEN THE NEW-TYPE. RELATIONS THAT HAVE BEEN CREATED IN THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY.

COOPERATION BETWEEN THE FRATERNAL PARTIES IN THE IDEOLOGICAL FIELD HAS BEEN NOTICEABLY GATHERING STRENGTH IN RECENT YEARS. THIS IS PROFOUNDLY JUSTIFIED. ON THE ONE HAND, IN THE PRESENT STAGE OF BUILDING SOCIALISM IN THE FRATERNAL COUNTRIES AND BUILDING COMMUNISM IN THE SOVIET UNION, MORE AND MORE IMPORTANCE IS ATTACHED TO THE COMMUNIST EDUCATION OF THE MASSES--WORK AIMED AT ENHANCING CONSCIOUSNESS, THE LEVEL OF PUBLIC AWARENESS, AND THE LEVEL OF PUBLIC MORALITY. ON THE OTHER HAND, WITH THE PRESENT AGGRAVATION OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW WORLDS IT IS NECESSARY TO PRESS FOR THE FURTHER ACTIVATION AND ADVANCEMENT OF OUR IDEAS AND TO HEIGHTEN RESISTANCE TO BOURGEOIS AND REVISIONIST IDEOLOGY. OUR PARTIES CLEARLY UNDERSTAND THIS.

THE PRESENT JUBILEE YEAR HERE IN POLAND IS A YEAR IN WHICH THE PARTY'S IDEOLOGICAL WORK HAS BECOME CONSIDERABLY MORE ACTIVE. WE, TOO, HAVE DONE A GREAT DEAL IN THIS FIELD. THE GENERAL LINE OF COMMUNISTS IN QUESTIONS OF IDEOLOGY IS, IN SUBSTANCE, A SINGLE LINE, AND THE STRENGTHENING OF IDEOLOGICAL UNITY, THE CONSISTENT OBSERVANCE OF LENINIST PRINCIPLES IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST ANY DEVIATION FROM MARXISM-LENINISM AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM, IS, AS IS OUR CONVICTION, OUR CONSTANT COMMON OBLIGATION AND OUR DUTY TO WORKING PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS. (APPLAUSE)

YET ANOTHER SPHERE OF COOPERATION OF THE FRATERNAL COUNTRIES ABOUT WHICH WE SHOULD SPEAK IN PARTICULAR HAS BEEN TESTED IN PRACTICE. I HAVE IN MIND THE SPHERE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, WHERE OUR COUNTRIES ARE OPERATING CONCERTEDLY AND ARE FIRMLY AND CONSISTENTLY PURSUING A COURSE OF CONSOLIDATING PEACE AND STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. THIS IS A CLEAR AND HONEST COURSE. IT ENSUES FROM THE ESSENCE OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM ITSELF. IT IS UTTERLY AND COMPLETELY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS AND NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. IT FAITHFULLY SERVES THE CAUSE OF THE SOCIAL PROGRESS OF ALL MANKIND. (APPLAUSE)

SOCIALISM IS PERHAPS THE MOST INFLUENTIAL FACTOR IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, AND WE ARE PROUD THAT ITS INFLUENCE IS BENEFICIAL TO THE PEOPLES.

(MORE)

21 JUL 1635Z MSM/JZ

FBIS 132

FIRST ADD 131 (BREZHNEV FOREIGN POLICY TEXT)

XXX TO THE PEOPLES.

(TEXT) SURELY IT IS A FACT, COMRADES, THAT AT PRESENT PRACTICALLY ALL STEPS OF ANY SIGNIFICANCE TOWARD PEACE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUTUALLY PROFITABLE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE STATES ARE LINKED, EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, WITH THE INITIATIVE AND ACTIVE, JOINT ACTIONS OF THE SOCIALIST STATES. MANKIND CAN SEE THAT THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY IS CARRYING HIGH THE BANNER OF PEACE-LOVING FOREIGN POLICY GIVEN TO US BY THE GREAT LENIN. (APPLAUSE) ALL PEOPLE KNOW HOW MUCH HAS BEEN DONE IN RECENT YEARS TO ATTAIN A CHANGE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, FROM AN ATMOSPHERE POISONED BY MUTUAL HOSTILITY AND MISTRUST--THE ATMOSPHERE OF COLD WAR--TO NORMAL, SENSIBLE FORMS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN STATES ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE.

THIS PROCESS, WHICH DEMANDS A CONTINUOUS POLITICAL STRUGGLE, HAS ALREADY LED TO SUBSTANTIAL ACHIEVEMENTS WHICH, ONE CAN CONFIDENTLY SAY, ARE HISTORICALLY SIGNIFICANT. NEW EVIDENCE OF THE CONTINUING AND DEEPEING PROCESS OF RELAXING INTERNATIONAL TENSION IS FOUND IN THE RESULTS OF THE RECENT SOVIET-AMERICAN SUMMIT MEETING. IN OUR OPINION THE MAIN THING IS THAT BOTH SIDES AFFIRMED WITH COMPLETE CLARITY THEIR RESOLVE TO CONTINUE THE GREAT CAUSE THAT WAS BEGUN IN THE YEARS 1972 AND 1973; TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO FURTHER REDUCE, AND SUBSEQUENTLY ELIMINATE ALTOGETHER, THE RISK OF A MILITARY CONFLICT BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, WHICH WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO STARTING A WORLD NUCLEAR ROCKET WAR.

IT WAS ALSO CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED THAT BOTH SIDES ARE STRIVING TO DEVELOP AND DEEPEN PEACEFUL, MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS SOVIET-AMERICAN COOPERATION IN VARIOUS FIELDS. THE CONCRETE RESULTS OF THE MOSCOW TALKS ARE KNOWN. HERE I WOULD ONLY LIKE TO PLACE ADDITIONAL EMPHASIS ON THE PART OF THESE RESULTS THAT HAVE A DIRECT BEARING ON RESTRAINING THE ARMS RACE AND STRENGTHENING THE WORLD PEACE:

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA HAVE SIGNED A PROTOCOL PROVIDING FOR NEW SUBSTANTIAL LIMITATIONS ON ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEMS IN BOTH COUNTRIES. THIS IS UNDOUBTEDLY A USEFUL STEP. IT IS USEFUL NOT ONLY FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF DEVELOPING THE PEACEFUL ECONOMY OF BOTH COUNTRIES, BUT ALSO FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE FUTURE GROWTH OF TRUST BETWEEN THEM, AND ACCORDINGLY A GENERAL IMPROVEMENT IN THE INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE.

AS AN OUTCOME OF OUR TALKS WITH PRESIDENT NIXON, THE CONTINUATION OF FURTHER STEPS LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPONS WERE ALSO OUTLINED. I WOULD LIKE TO STRESS THE SCALE OF THE OUTLINED MEASURES. WHAT THIS MEANS IS THAT FOLLOWING THE PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT ON THIS QUESTION, WHICH IS IN FORCE, AS IS KNOWN, UNTIL 1977, THERE SHOULD BE A NEW LONGER TERM AGREEMENT WHICH WILL REMAIN IN FORCE UNTIL 1985 AND ENVISAGES NOT ONLY QUANTITATIVE BUT ALSO QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS. UNDERSTANDLY, CONCLUDING SUCH AN AGREEMENT IS NOT AS EASY MATTER. HOWEVER, WE CONSIDER THAT THE WORK WHICH HAS ALREADY BEEN DONE, INCLUDING THAT DONE DURING THE LAST SUMMIT MEETING, WILL HELP IN SOLVING THE TASKS SET BEFORE US.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE ALSO AGREED TO REDUCE CONSIDERABLY WITHIN AN AGREED PERIOD UNDERGROUND TESTING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS CARRIED OUT BY BOTH COUNTRIES AND TO CEASE COMPLETELY TESTING MORE POWERFUL WARHEADS. WE SEE THIS AGREEMENT AS A STEP TOWARD THE TIME WHEN THE BAN ON TESTING NUCLEAR WEAPONS WILL BECOME ULTIMATELY ALL-EMBRACING AND UNIVERSAL.

THE AGREEMENTS MADE BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES DIRECTED AGAINST USING THE MORE DANGEROUS DEATH-DEALING METHODS OF WAGING CHEMICAL WARFARE, AND THE MEANS OF INFLUENCING THE ENVIRONMENT FOR MILITARY PURPOSES ALSO, SERIOUSLY BENEFIT THE CAUSE OF PEACE. THIS IS A MAJOR AND BROAD QUESTION, WE THINK, COMRADES, THAT THIS PROGRAM OF PRACTICAL STEPS IS A GOOD EXAMPLE OF POWERS LIMITING THEIR MILITARY PREPARATIONS AND ANSWER THE INTERESTS OF ALL WHO WISH FOR STRENGTHENING OF WORLD PEACE.

(MORE)

21 JUL 1639Z MSM/MA

FBIS 138

SECOND ADD 131 (BREZHNEV FOREIGN POLICY TEXT)

XXX OF WORLD PEACE.

(TEXT) THIS IS PRECISELY WHY THE CONSTRUCTIVE RESULTS OF THE SOVIET-AMERICAN TALKS HAVE MET WITH A WIDE AND POSITIVE RESPONSE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

IT SHOULD BE SAID, COMRADES, THAT WE WOULD LIKE STILL MORE AND WOULD BE WILLING TO AGREE TO MORE. THE SOVIET UNION IS WILLING IN PARTICULAR TO CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT ON THE TOTAL CESSATION OF ALL UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR WEAPONS TEST. WE ALSO CONSIDER IT USEFUL TO AGREE ON THE WITHDRAWAL FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN OF ALL SOVIET AND AMERICAN SHIPS AND SUBMARINES CARRYING NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

UNFORTUNATELY, WE HAVE NOT YET SUCCEEDED IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON THIS. HOWEVER, WE ARE CONVINCED THAT IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE PROPOSALS WOULD BE A NEW AND REAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND WOULD BE WELCOMED WITH GREAT SATISFACTION BY THE PEOPLES OF MANY COUNTRIES. LET US HOPE THAT THE TIME WILL COME WHEN AGREEMENTS ON THESE QUESTIONS WILL BECOME POSSIBLE.

IT IS BEYOND DISPUTE THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NORMAL AND, I WOULD SAY, FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES IS OF CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE FOR THE CAUSE OF PEACE. BUT INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AFFECT ALL COUNTRIES, LARGE AND SMALL. ALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS AND EACH IS CALLED UPON TO MAKE ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE STRENGTHENING OF UNIVERSAL SECURITY.

THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, AS IS KNOWN, HAVE ALWAYS SOUGHT TO ACHIEVE SUCH A TURN TOWARD BETTER RELATIONS AMONG THE EUROPEAN STATES AND THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE IN EUROPE. WE HIGHLY VALUE THE FACT THAT OUR EFFORTS HAVE MET WITH UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT FROM THE MAJORITY OF THE WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. OF COURSE, IN SUCH A GREAT AND COMPLEX AFFAIR AS TURNING EUROPE INTO A CONTINENT OF PEACE, CONSISTENCY AND PURPOSEFULNESS ARE VERY IMPORTANT. THE IMPORTANT ROLES IN THE CREATION OF THE POLITICAL CLIMATE IN EUROPE PLAYED BY SUCH STATES AS FRANCE AND THE FRG ARE KNOWN. WE NOTE WITH A SENSE OF SATISFACTION THAT FRENCH PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTAING AND FEDERAL CHANCELLOR HERR SCHMIDT HAVE CONFIRMED THE FIRM INTENTION TO PRESERVE AND AUGMENT THAT WHICH WAS DONE BY THEIR FAR-SEEING PREDECESSORS IN THE INTERESTS OF EASING INTERNATIONAL TENSION.



IT IS IMPORTANT THAT A CONVICTION IN EUROPE'S PEACEFUL PROSPECTS SHOULD BE FIRMLY ROOTED IN THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF BOTH STATESMEN AND THE POPULAR MASSES. FROM THIS POINT OF VIEW, A GREAT ROLE WILL BE PLAYED, AS WE HOPE, BY THE ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT CONVOCAION OF THE CONFERENCE ITSELF IS A GREAT ACHIEVEMENT. THIS IS A VICTORY FOR COMMONSENSE. TO INSURE THE SUCCESS OF THE CONFERENCE, IT IS PRIMARILY NECESSARY THAT THE MAIN PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONTINENT SHOULD BE CLEARLY PROCLAIMED AND AUTHENTICATED BY THE UNITED WILL OF ALL ITS PARTICIPANTS. THE NATURAL AND, ONE CAN SAY, THE ONLY SENSIBLE PRINCIPLES ARE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE INVIOABILITY OF EXISTING STATE FRONTIERS, REJECTION OF THE THREAT AND OF THE USE OF FORCE, MUTUAL RESPECT OF INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY, REJECTION OF ANY INTERFERENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES, AND THE FURTHER EXTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF PEACEFUL COOPERATION IN VARIOUS SPHERES ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL BENEFIT.

MOVING IN THAT DIRECTION, THE ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE HAS ALREADY DONE A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF WORK. MANY IMPORTANT PRINCIPLED PROVISIONS HAVE BEEN AGREED ON, AND IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO UNDERESTIMATE WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED. ONE MUST REALIZE THAT A FORUM OF EUROPEAN STATESMEN IS NOT AN ORDINARY BUT RATHER A UNIQUE EVENT. FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE PROCESS OF PROFOUND MUTUAL FAMILIARIZATION AND HARMONIZATION OF POINTS OF VIEW ON QUESTIONS THAT UNTIL RECENTLY WERE CONSIDERED IN GENERAL TO BE INCAPABLE OF SOLUTION IS UNDERWAY.

WE UNDERSTAND ALL THIS WELL. HOWEVER, GIVEN THE LEVEL OF TRUST THAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED BETWEEN STATES, ONE WOULD LIKE TO SAY THAT THOSE WHO ARE STRIVING TO RAISE THE STAKES, SO TO SPEAK, TO CREATE PROBLEMS THAT CANNOT YET BE SOLVED, ARE BEHAVING IN AN UNREALISTIC AND SHORT-SIGHTED WAY. THE SOLUTION OF THESE PROBLEMS CAN BE FOUND LATER IN THE PROCESS OF FURTHER INTERNATIONAL DETENTE. AND ATTEMPTS TO ADD DELIBERATELY CONTRIVED MINOR QUESTIONS TO THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE, TO DROWN, SO TO SPEAK, WITH IRRELEVANT TRIFLES THOSE MAJOR PRINCIPLED QUESTIONS THAT ARE IN FACT CLOSE TO SETTLEMENT EVEN AT TODAY'S DATE, ARE QUITE UNREASONABLE. ALL THIS LEADS TO UNJUSTIFIED DELAYS AT THE CONFERENCE, DELAYS THAT THE FORCES OF THE COLD WAR ARE TRYING TO EXPLOIT.

FROM TIME TO TIME ONE CAN SEE IN THE WESTERN PRESS ARGUMENTS THAT RECOGNITION OF THE INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS AND THE OTHER PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL RELATIONS ONLY BENEFIT THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. FOR THIS REASON, WE ARE SUPPOSED TO PAY THE WEST FOR THAT THEY REGARD AS CONCESSIONS THEY HAVE MADE. THIS IS A VERY STRANGE CONCEPT TO SAY THE LEAST. PEACE IS PRECIOUS FOR ALL PEOPLES, BOTH IN THE EAST AND WEST OF THE CONTINENT. EVERYONE BENEFITS FROM GUARANTEED FRONTIERS AND THE FUTURE ELIMINATION OF WARS. EUROPEANS HAVE ALREADY PAID WITH MANY MILLIONS OF LIVES BECAUSE RELIABLE MEASURES AGAINST AGGRESSION AND WAR WERE NOT TAKEN IN THE PAST. ONE CAN SAY WITH CONFIDENCE THAT THERE IS NO PEOPLE ON OUR CONTINENT, WHICH HAS SUFFERED MUCH, WHO DO NOT WANT LASTING PEACE AND FIRMLY GUARANTEED SECURITY. (APPLAUSE)

(MORE)

21 JUL 1735Z JCE/MA

FBIS 148

THIRD AND LAST ADD 131 (BREZHNEV FOREIGN POLICY TEXT)

XXX GUARANTEED SECURITY. (APPLAUSE)

(TEXT) THE SOVIET UNION RECENTLY ADDRESSED AN APPEAL TO THE LEADERS OF A NUMBER OF WESTERN STATES TO PROMOTE A SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE. WE HOPE THAT THIS APPEAL WILL BE CORRECTLY UNDERSTOOD. IT SEEMS THAT THE IDEA OF THE NEED TO COMPLETE CONSTRUCTIVELY AND WORTHILY THE GREAT AMOUNT OF WORK THAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED TOGETHER BY THE STATES OF EUROPE, THE USA AND CANADA OVER THE LAST 2 YEARS IS GAINING MORE AND MORE OF A RESPONSE IN THE WESTERN STATES.

WE ARE CONVINCED THAT EVERYTHING POSSIBLE SHOULD BE DONE TO ACHIEVE THE COMPLETE SUCCESS OF THE ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE. MUCH CAN BE DONE IN THIS CONNECTION BY THE PUBLIC AT LARGE, INCLUDING THE MOVEMENT FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE WHICH EXISTS, AND IS ACTIVELY FUNCTIONING AND ENERGETICALLY ADVOCATING THAT THE CHANGES WHICH HAVE BEGUN IN THE CONTINENT BE CONTINUED AND MADE IRREVERSIBLE. WE ARE DEEPLY CONVINCED THAT HEREIN LIES THE HONOURABLE DUTY OF ALL SUPPORTERS OF PEACE IN EUROPE. (APPLAUSE)

DEAR COMRADES, IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY DANGEROUS IF THE OPINION BECAME FIRMLY ESTABLISHED IN PUBLIC CIRCLES THAT EVERYTHING IS NOW COMPLETELY ORDERED AND THAT THE THREAT OF WAR HAS BECOME ILLUSORY AND THE TASK OF INSURING PEACE HAS, AS IT WERE, RECEDED INTO THE BACKGROUND, OR INTO THE MIDDLE DISTANCE.

IT IS NECESSARY TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE REAL SITUATION. A NUMBER OF AREAS OF THE WORLD ARE STILL TROUBLED. EVENTS IN CYPRUS ARE FRESH CONFIRMATION OF THIS. THEY HAVE ARISEN AS A RESULT OF A QUITE UNCONCEALED ARMED AGGRESSION BY THE GREEK MILITARY REGIME. RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS IS BORNE BY CERTAIN NATO CIRCLES AND THOSE WHO DO NOT FIND THE INDEPENDENCE OF CYPRUS TO THEIR LIKING.

THE SOVIET UNION, THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND ALL PEACE-LOVING STATES RESOLUTELY DEMAND THAT OUTSIDE MILITARY INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CYPRUS BE ENDED AND THAT THE POSITION OF THE REPUBLIC AS AN INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGN STATE AND AS IT EXISTED PRIOR TO THE GREEK AGGRESSION BE RESTORED. (APPLAUSE)

THE FORCES OF WAR AND REACTION HAVE NOT LAID DOWN THEIR ARMS. THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES CANNOT CLOSE THEIR EYES TO THE INTRIGUES OF THE OPPONENTS OF PEACE. THEY CAN ONLY DRAW THE APPROPRIATE CONCLUSIONS FROM THIS. IN THE FOREFRONT ARE IMPORTANT AND SERIOUS PROBLEMS WHICH WE HAVE TO RESOLVE AND RESOLVE WITHOUT DELAY. THE SOVIET UNION, LIKE THE OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, HAS ALREADY STATED MORE THAN ONCE THAT IT IS READY TO TAKE RESOLUTE MEASURES TO LIMIT THE ARMS RACE AND THEN TO REDUCE ARMS. WE ONCE MORE REPEAT THAT WE ARE READY, IN PARTICULAR, TO COME TO AN AGREEMENT ON THE REDUCTION OF THE ARMED FORCES AND ARMS IN EUROPE. THE TASK OF MAKING THE APPLICATION OF THE TREATY ON THE NONPROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS MORE EFFECTIVE AND UNIVERSAL IS BECOMING MORE PRESSING THAN EVER BEFORE. WE ARE READY, AND HAVE BEEN FOR A LONG TIME, TO SIT AT A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE TABLE. WE ARE ALSO READY TO COME TO AN AGREEMENT ON STEPS DIRECTED TOWARDS EASING THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE EXISTING BLOCS, AND IN THE FUTURE, TOWARDS THEIR COMPLETE ELIMINATION. IN BRIEF, THE BALL IS NOT IN OUR COURT.

COMRADES, FOR CENTURIES ALMOST EVERY GENERATION IN EUROPE, AND NOT ONLY IN EUROPE, HAS HAD ITS WAR. OUR GENERATION HAD TO BEAR THE WEIGHT OF THE MOST DESTRUCTIVE WAR IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND. IT HAS LEFT SCARS ON MILLIONS OF US, ON THE SOIL OF OUR COUNTRIES AND IN THE MEMORY OF OUR PEOPLES. THEY DO NOT ALLOW US, THE LIVING, TO FORGET OUR DUTY TO THOSE WHO ARE GONE AND TO THOSE WHO ARE TO COME IN ORDER TO CONTINUE OUR CAUSE. I WAS ONCE AGAIN REMINDED ABOUT THIS LOFTY DUTY BY THE HONOURED AWARD OF FRATERNAL POLAND--THE ORDER OF VIRTUTI MILITARI. (APPLAUSE)

I SHALL NOT CONCEAL THAT I AM TOUCHED BY THE FACT THAT THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC HAVE CONFERRED SUCH AN ORDER ON ME--THE HIGHEST ORDER FOR MILITARY SERVICES. I ACCEPT THIS LOFTY AWARD AS A SYMBOL OF THE GREAT FRIENDSHIP OF OUR COUNTRIES AND OUR PEOPLES WHICH WAS FORGED IN THE THREATENING DAYS OF BATTLES WITH THE AGGRESSOR AND IN THE DAYS OF PEACEFUL CREATIVE WORK. (APPLAUSE)

ABOUT MYSELF, I SHALL SAY THAT I WAS AND REMAIN A SOLDIER--A SOLDIER OF PEACE, A SOLDIER IN THE GREAT ARMY OF FIGHTERS FOR COMMUNISM. (APPLAUSE)

FOR A COMMUNIST THERE IS NO GREATER HAPPINESS, NOR CAN THERE BE, THAN TO SERVE THE INTERESTS OF SOCIALISM AND PEACE AND THE INTEREST OF STRENGTHENING THE FRIENDSHIP AND BROTHERHOOD AMONG PEOPLES. DEAR COMRADES, I HAVE NOT HAD NOR DO I HAVE ANY OTHER IDEALS NEARER MY HEART. (APPLAUSE)

FOR CENTURIES MANKIND, IN STRIVING TO GUARANTEE ITS SECURITY, HAS BEEN GUIDED BY THE FORMULA: IF YOU WANT PEACE, BE READY FOR WAR. IN OUR NUCLEAR AGE THIS FORMULA CONCEALS PARTICULAR DANGER. MAN DIES ONLY ONCE. HOWEVER, IN RECENT YEARS SUCH A MASS OF WEAPONS HAS ALREADY BEEN STOCKPILED TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO DESTROY EVERY LIVING THING ON EARTH SEVERAL TIMES.

CLEARLY UNDERSTANDING THIS, WE HAVE PUT IT AND CONTINUE TO PUT IT ANOTHER WAY: IF YOU WANT PEACE, CONDUCT A POLICY OF PEACE AND FIGHT FOR THAT POLICY. (APPLAUSE)



THIS HAS BEEN, IS AND WILL BE THE MOTTO OF OUR SOCIALIST FOREIGN POLICY. THE SOVIET COMMUNISTS, THE ENTIRE SOVIET PEOPLE, FEEL ENORMOUS SATISFACTION IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT OUR NEAREST NEIGHBOUR AND GOOD FRIEND, PEOPLE'S POLAND, IS AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF THE FRATERNAL FAMILY AND AN ENERGETIC PARTICIPANT IN ALL CREATIVE ENTERPRISES OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY. (APPLAUSE)

THE SOVIET PEOPLE ARE PROUD OF THEIR FRIENDSHIP WITH THE POLISH PEOPLE, A PEOPLE WITH A THOUSAND YEARS OF HISTORY AND A BASE OF CULTURE AND TALENT, THAT HAS FOREVER CHOSEN THE PATH OF SOCIALISM FOR ITS FATHERLAND. ON THE DAY OF THE GLORIOUS 30 ANNIVERSARY OF PEOPLE'S POLAND WE WISH YOU, DEAR BROTHERS, NEW MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS, PROSPERITY AND HAPPINESS. (APPLAUSE) LONG LIVE FREE, FLOURISHING SOCIALIST POLAND! (APPLAUSE) LONG LIVE THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY (APPLAUSE)--- THE GLORIOUS VANGUARD OF THE POLISH WORKERS! (APPLAUSE)

(ENDALL)

21 JUL 1819Z JCE/MA